[P. 191 a] Kechayi

787 Plain people who did not seek to become
756 doctors were sometimes visited by dreams of a supernatural helper. Often they did not know what procedure to follow to accept the proffered power, or possibly, even knowing the procedure, they did not want to go through the period of apprenticeship to follow the shamanistic calling.

787 It was difficult and, strictly speaking, impossible to define in native terms the distinction between a supernaturally significant dream and an ordinary one. Both types were called ana´tsawu. Even ordinary dreams were thought to have some prophetic value, which E.M. exemplified as follows.

A dream of winning at a game means winning in reality.

If one dreamed of dying he would rise exceptionally early, go to a creek or spring and say to the water, "Don't take me yet. Let me live a long life." Water had immortality and the power to bestow it.

Dreaming of quarreling with a friend would cause or permit one to chide the friend about it next day. Sometimes such dreams would lead to accusations of enmity between people who were in wholly peaceful relation. Dreams were usually told to the persons appearing in them under any circumstances.

Dreams of reversals, precipitous falling, or loss of teeth were unknown to E.M. (but see below).

[787] It was not customary to seek dreams as omens with respect to some specific project; however, a fortuitous dream of ill luck would probably cause a person to change his plans.

828 E.M. could not define the nature of dream
774 experience. She knew of no word for soul, did
787 not recognize the concept. She willingly related the following dreams, which all date from her early life.

787 1. E.M.'s mother once went off for several days and left her alone. She was scared and nervous by herself. One night she dreamed that her mother returned, which made her very happy for she knew her mother was coming. She did return the next day. When she came, E.M. told her of the dream. [It was not necessary to tell; it was done for the emotional pleasure involved in recounting it.]

2. Once E.M. dreamed she was a dove. She was on a hilltop and tried to fly from there, for she felt just as if she had wings. Twice she succeeded in leaving the hilltop but both times fell down [with no sense of shock, however]. When she woke up she said to herself, "What did I want to do that for?" The next morning she told her mother of the dream, and was advised not to eat dove meat. But E.M. did not "believe" the dream [did not want to accept supernatural aid] and did not observe this or any other tabu, and no harm resulted.

[P. 192 a] Kechayi

BELIEFS

773 825 [756] Wainus.---This was a great serpent, large enough to wrap itself around a hill. It was extremely powerful with supernatural force (ṭ:pnil). The wainus inhabited almost any locality but would not appear "unless some doctor or some ṭ:pni person wanted to see them." Their appearance was accompanied by a severe windstorm; they were not man-eating or malicious.[71]

787 775 Ghost-wailer.---Long ago a "ghost-thing," an old woman, would wail in the evening. People went out to try to find her. She was visible, but they could never really get near her. Her wailing was taken as a sign that a Gashowu chief was going to die.

801 ● 777 Ritual or lucky number.---E.M. was not conscious of any personal preference among numbers, nor did she recognize the concept in her culture; this in spite of the frequent recurrence of six in her various accounts.

773 Flood.---When E.M. was a little girl she heard old people talk of a great flood which inundated the Northern Foothill region. "There was water all over the earth." Many people were drowned. Those who lived saved themselves by building houses on high frames and going up to them with ladders. One can still see by the gulches the effects of this flood, i.e., the rushing waters made the gulches.[72]

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Dances and Rituals

796 756 535 Pleasure dance.---This dance (h:č: ´šna) was a favorite performance for evening entertainment. While the chief actually ordered the performance, anyone could suggest that it be given, and the suggestion in all likelihood would be sanctioned by the chief. It was done at any time of the year. The dancing usually "started after supper and lasted until midnight."

The performers were two shamans, two women, and six "plain" men. They were accompanied by two singers (hata´m:š [?]) who used the clapper (ta´wats). Those whom E.M. recalls were: Čokon:k and Ha´t:š, the shamans, and Ke´mas and Ku´ba´ld:č, the women. The "plain" men she does not recall by name. The two women were sisters and celebrated dancers, but E.M. does not think they had dream help with their accomplishment.

The doctors wore the usual ceremonial regalia -- feather headdresses, skirts, and ear plugs. The other men wore breechclouts, beaded belts, and ear plugs, and probably any other

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[71] Cf. Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-Seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths, 206-207.

[72] There is no physical sign of flood to the layman's eye. This formation of land was also attributed to the primeval flood by the Dumna informant.

844 waist and over the abdomen, and gave her a cup of hot medicine made by boiling kičena ʻoša[170] in water.

In case of difficult birth a shaman was
W called. He talked to his supernatural helper,
Y pressed his patient's belly, rubbed it with his
845 talisman and blew on it. No singing, dancing,
755 cutting, or sucking was done. Usually a woman called on her own supernatural helper on such occasions: it was chiefly for such purposes that women sought power. Informant D. referred to the Wukchumni M.L.'s power in aiding childbirths.

W The shaman was the only man present. The
Y husband, at the time of delivery, moved out to
844 sleep at the sweat house and have his meals with some relatives until his wife had her cleansing ritual. Some men observed a meat tabu during this time.

At the birth of the child the midwife cut its cord (dos) with a section of split cane (kadkʻd) and tied the stump with milkweed string. The afterbirth was buried; it was never put in water or in an anthill.[171] The baby was bathed at once in warm water. It was
W then wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and bound
Y to a forked-stick cradle (akhʻ ʻlʻč). The use
[853] of a soft mattress-cradle was denied by D., as was the use of shredded bark, moss, or any other type of diaper.

The navel stump came off in three to six
W (theoretically six) days. It was put in a bead-
● Y decorated skin case and hung on the cradle hood
846 for the infant to play with. If the stump were
[856] not kept, the baby would crawl around on the
● [777] ground searching for it and would never learn
237 to walk. It was preserved throughout life "for good luck."

A hot bed of stones and ashes had been prepared for the mother in her own house and on this she lay, covered with deer and rabbitskin blankets for six days. She lay on her back (D.). Each day, either in the morning or evening, she
W steamed the vaginal tract. Brake fern (toʻoʻdi)
Y was boiled in a big basket of water. The woman
[824] sat on the edge of a log, or on a stick resting between two forked stakes, with the steaming basket between her legs. She covered herself and the basket with deer and rabbitskin blankets, and remained until the steam was exhausted. The process of steaming was called teʻʻenaʻošita, and was not used for any other purpose by anyone (D.).

For six days, while on the hot pit, the mother drank copiously of hot water and acorn gruel, her only sustenance. After that she ate seed and acorn mushes but kept the meat tabu for three months, when her cleansing ritual took place. A woman who failed to observe the

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[170] A tall plant with purple blossoms growing abundantly in the mountains.

[171] But D. said the Yaudanchi put the afterbirth in an anthill; and had heard of others who did.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

524

[285 531]

Wahnemhet, Wukchumne full-blood from east of Visalia, throwing dice in the Yokuts woman's dice game. The dice are made of halves of walnuts. She made the game tray she is using. It shows the quail, or brant goose design.

up, the thrower lost one point and the dice were awarded to the two opposing players.

Either of the partners could throw the dice. Considerable skill was thought necessary in throwing them. A *moke* (woman) who could roll the dice most rapidly and who could pour forth the most convincing entreaties was usually accorded this privilege. [777]

A Hunhchuish game has been known to continue without interruption for several days and nights. The most interesting description of this game, as recorded by early observers, was that left by Stephen Powers in 1870. The scene was located on Tule River among the *Yau-dahn'-chi* tribe of primitive Yokuts. Mr. Powers' account follows:

"The Yokuts have a sort of gambling which pertains exclusively to women. It is a kind of dice throwing and is called *u-clas'-as*. For a dice they take half of a large acorn or walnut shell, fill it level with pitch and pounded charcoal, and inlay it with bits of bright-colored abalone shells. For a dice-table they weave a very large, fine basket tray, almost flat, and ornamented with devices woven in black or brown, mostly rude imitations of trees and geometrical figures. 525 [285 531]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 "When we go to them tawits I go with my chawmish snake
756 basket. Chechin go 'head. He take step to one side, then step
796 to other side in time with them Uhdukut singin' and dancin'. Them other snake doctors do same thing. Then Chechin take snake out my chawmish basket. He hold left hand under snake's head, hold front of snake's body along left forearm. He hold middle of snake with right hand and rest of snake on his right arm.

"Each Trudum dance 'round with his snake. His relation dance 'round behind him. All time them Uhdukut singin' and dancin' one-step dance.

"While them Uhdukut singin' and dancin', them people go in circle in front of them Trudum snake doctors. They hold one bare foot down over them snakes. Then they throw Indian shell money, or white man silver money in Tawits with snakes. Some Tawits got more beads and money than snake. People [751] take their children through circle, too, so they don't get snake-bit that summer.

[522] "Them Uhdukut got one clown doctor called *Kiyu* (Ki'-yoo, Coyote). Everybody call for Kiyu. Kiyu was Indian named *Sahlahpun*, from Tule River. Kiyu pick out bad snake and tease it. Pretty soon that snake get mad. He strike Kiyu
159 on back his hand. Then them Trudum snake doctors try to
755 save him. They pay him lots money, 'bout fifty dollars for that
796 job. They rub ashes on him. Then they cut where that snake bite and suck on it through wood pipe made from elderberry limb. They take out bad blood, green things, maybe squirrel bone, or hair. Then Kiyu get well.

159 'It's Kiyu's business to make lots of fun, too. He run
756 'round and get in them Uhdukuk, snake doctor's way. He do
796 that at every place I see that rattlesnake dance, Porterville,
522 Dunlap, Centerville.

"Sometimes them Kiyu got bad luck. Once *Puslilin*,
159 (Poos-lill'-in) from Squaw Valley, was Kiyu at dance at Dun-
756 lap. He tease big snake. Chechin tell him, 'Better you take
796 little one'. But Puslilin want big one. Then Chechin take
777 Puslilin away and talk to him. He tell Puslilin he see buzzard kill squirrel. That sure to mean real bad luck for somebody. That buzzard catch live squirrel and carry it high up in air and drop it. It fall on Puslilin's bed. Then that buzzard come down to eat that squirrel. But it on Puslilin's bed, so he 'fraid to take it. He go away. That's sure real bad luck for Puslilin.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

the Yokuts (e. g., Salinan, Chumash), while collectively unknown eastern groups were called mountaineers (do´mtui). The north and south dimensions of the valley are greater, and tribal contacts in the floor of the valley were so aligned along the water flow between Kern, Buena Vista, Tulare Lakes, and the lower San Joaquin River.

Of the two other directions, up (ṭi´pin; sky, above) and down (ati´l), the latter had no special significance beyond myth reference to an underground gambler whose home might be reached via a badger or gopher hole.[20] Upward, "aboveness," was of great religious significance, the embodiment of sacredness and supernatural power. Veneration was manifest in many ways, especially in a religious-motivated looking upwards, looking at the stars and sun with prayerful phrases on the lips, basking in the sun, getting magic "airshot" from the sun during shamanistic contests. Supernatural power was called ṭi´pni; it was the essence of all "aboveness" and the power derived therefrom, though the term might be applied to anything weird, holy, or peculiarly hyperphysical.

To the earth itself (di´nit) there was no special attitude, nor to the plants growing on it save the narcotics tobacco (so´'og) and *Datura* (ta´ñai). For example, for all the essential uses earth was excavated without special concern—house, sweathouse, or grave pits, for pottery, colored earths for paint. Similarly ordinary stones were taken for implements, motars and pestles, though previously shaped stones such as the "charmstones" of weather shaman, were regarded with awe, as ṭi´pni.

On the other hand, water (i´dik), especially that of springs, was venerated: "water is immortal because it is everywhere; it is living all the time." Springs were addressed prayerfully, sacred eagle down was scattered near them, and a little water was sprinkled on oneself with a request for long life. Other expressions of this attitude are found in early morning bathing (more than a mere cleansing act), and in myths, wherein submersion or application of water was the standard method of magical resuscitation.

The stars were not ignored; on the contrary, the Morning Star especially was of great importance: people should be up in time to see it, greet it with a prayerful request for "a good world" and longevity. The Pleiades gave luck to gamblers; other stars were dangerous lures to men. Eclipses of moon or sun were hailed with shouts of discouragement, and excessive thunder was admonished to cease. In short, even heavenly bodies were part of the immediate, reachable environment.

Aspects of time, of the place of animals and of man in the world were em-

20 There was no concept of stratified worlds, or of previous and successive worlds.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

226 long, in which they cruise timidly about near the shore. There is a margin where the bottom is almost level and the waves run light; but the middle of the lake is of immense depth, and the billows sometimes lash themselves into oceanic proportions.

172 412 Around the lake and on King's River one will often find a family using a tolerably well-made stone mortar. They always admit that they did not manufacture these implements, but happened on them in digging or found them on the surface, and that they belonged to a race other than their own. They sometimes have the ingenuity to improve on them by fastening a basket-hopper around the top to prevent the acorns from flying out. On the west side of Tulare Lake these mortars are very numerous, and of course they must have been carried thither from the mountains.

285 On Tule River I saw the process of basket-weaving. Instead of willow twigs for the framework or warp, the squaw takes long stalks of grass, (*Sporobolus*); and for the threads or the woof various barks or roots split fine—pine root for a white color, willow bark for a brown, and some unknown bark for a black. The process of weaving is like that heretofore described; [237] the awl or needle was the sharpened thigh-bone of a hawk.

525 The Gualala style of gambling prevails all over the State, but the Yokuts have another sort, which pertains exclusively to the women. It is a kind of dice-throwing, and is called *u-chu'-us*. For a dice they take half of a large acorn or walnut shell, fill it level with pitch and pounded charcoal, and inlay it with bits of bright-colored abalone shells. For a dice-table they weave a very large, fine basket-tray, almost flat, and ornamented with devices woven in black or brown, mostly rude imitations of trees and geometrical figures. Four squaws sit around it to play, and a fifth keeps tally with fifteen sticks. There are eight dice, and they scoop them up in their hands and dash them into the basket, counting one when two or five flat surfaces turn up.

525 777 The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims *yet'-ni* (equivalent to "one-y"), or *wi-a-tak*, or *ko-mai-éh*, which are simply a kind of sing-song or chanting One old squaw, with scarcely a tooth in her head, one eye gone, her face

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

all withered, but with a lower jaw as of iron, and features denoting extraordinary strength of will—a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of the others—after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate *wiatak!* It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

Following are the Yokuts numerals, taken at three places:

	KINGSTON.	KAWEAH RIVER.	FORT TEJON.
One.	yet.	yet.	yet.
Two.	po-no′-eh.	pūng′-o-eh.	poan′-oikh.
Three.	so′-pin.	so-o′-pin.	so-o′-pin.
Four.	ha′-to-po-noh.	ha-to-pang-ih′.	ha-to-poan′-oikh.
Five.	yit′-sen-it.	yi-tsing′-ut.	yi-tsin′-et.
Six.	cha′-lip-eh.	chu′-di-peh.	tso′-li-pih.
Seven.	nōm′-chil.	noam′-chin.	noam′-chikhl.
Eight.	mo-noas′.	mu′-nūsh.	mu′-nus.
Nine.	se′-po-noat.	no′-nip.	so′-pon-hut.
Ten.	tsi′-oh.	ti′-i-hoh.	ti′-i-hoh.

On the Tule River Reservation they have coined names for the days of the week. They are these: Wu-lo′-a, Po′-ni-o, So′-pi-o, Hots′-po, Ya′-ti-so, Chol′-po, Hu-lo′-sa.

Their theory of disease is, that it all resides in the blood. To prove this, they cite the fact that the blood always collects underneath a bruise and makes it dark; and also the fact that drawn blood coagulates. Hence their favorite remedy was scarification with small flints. And when they became acquainted with the process of cupping, they wearied the reservation surgeon with applications to have it performed on them for every little ailment. For diseases of the bowels they boil up a mess of a large and very stinking ant, and give it internally.

Their range of food is extensive. Around the lake they cut and dry the seed-stalks of a kind of flag (*Typha*) which has a head something like a